

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7955

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MONTEVIDEO 0023

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XM, UY, US

SUBJ: FOREIGN MINISTER'S LETTER TO SECRETARY IN ADVANCE BUENOS AIRES
MEETING

REF: STATE 255993, MONTEVIDEO 0016

FOR THE SECRETARY

1. THERE FOLLOWS AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF A LETTER DATED JANUARY 2, 1975 FROM FOREIGN MINISTER JUAN CARLOS BLANCO TO THE SECRETARY IN RESPONSE TO THE LATTER'S POST-QUITO ROUND ROBIN LETTER CONTAINED IN REFTEL. THE SPANISH ORIGINAL OF THE LETTER WAS CARRIED TO THE DEPARTMENT BY THE AMBASSADOR AT THE TIME OF HIS DEPARTURE ON JANUARY 2 TO ATTEND THE CHIEF OF MISSION CONFERENCE.

2. BEGIN TEXT. DEAR MR. SECRETARY OF STATE AND ESTEEMED FRIEND: I AM PLEASED TO REFER TO YOUR LETTER OF DECEMBER 5, 1974, WHICH I AM ONLY NOW ABLE TO REPLY TO IN THE DEPTH THAT THE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS POSED MERIT.

"I WANT, HOWEVER, TO RESPOND TO YOUR OPINIONS IN INVERSE ORDER TO THAT IN WHICH THEY ARE SET FORTH. IT INDICATES THE BELIEF OF MY GOVERNMENT, REPEATEDLY EXPRESSED, THAT THE MATTER OF CUBA IS A MARGINAL THEME THAT OUGHT TO BE INSCRIBED IN THE CONTEXT OF INTER-AMERICAN POLICY AND NOT THE INVERSE. MOREOVER, I BELIEVE THAT THE SUBJECT OF CUBA REQUIRES FOR ITS COMPLETE
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SOLUTION A HEALTHY AND MATURE FUNCTIONING OF INTER-AMERICAN

RELATIONS. IN THE DEGREE IN WHICH THESE CAN BE CONSOLIDATED AND DEVELOPED WITH FLUIDITY, WE WILL HAVE PREPARED BETTER CONDITIONS TO RESOLVE THE QUESTION OF CUBA AND ANY OTHERS THAT ARISE IN OUR HEMISPHERE COEXISTENCE.

"BECAUSE OF THIS, THE ATTENTION OF MY GOVERNMENT IS CONCENTRATED ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW DIALOGUE WHICH IT UNDERSTANDS AS A POLITICAL ATTITUDE IN WHICH EACH ONE OF THE MEMBERS FULLY ASSUMES HIS RIGHTS IN THE HEMISPHERIC SOCIETY AND EXERCISES THEM WITH RESPONSIBILITY AND MATURITY, ALL UNITED BY A COMMON SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY.

"THE DEFENSE OF THIS NEW POLITICAL ATTITUDE AND ITS INCREASED STRENGTHENING IS A VERY IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY OF URUGUAY. IN EFFECT, MY COUNTRY HAS CONTRIBUTED -- EVEN BEFORE THE FORMAL LAUNCHING OF THE NEW DIALOGUE -- TO THE CREATION OF APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS TO THE FULL EXTENT OF ITS POSSIBILITIES: 1. AUTHOR, TOGETHER WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE OAS CONCERNING REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM AND CONCERNING PLURALISM OF IDEOLOGIES WITHOUT WHICH THE POLITICAL TENSIONS IN THE CONTINENT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BE ATTENUATED NOR WILL THERE BE ABLE TO BE A HARMONIOUS COEXISTENCE.

2. CARRIED OUT AND IS CARRYING OUT A VERY SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN THE SAME PROCESS OF REFORM OF THE OAS CHARTER AND THE RIO TREATY. 3. I HAD THE HONOR OF SUGGESTING, APRIL 1973, DURING CONVERSATIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, THE ADVANTAGE OF ADOPTING AN INFORMAL METHOD OF CONVERSATIONS AND CONSULTATIONS IN THE HEMISPHERE, FREED FROM ALL RHETORIC, AS THE MOST APPROPRIATE ROAD ALONG WHICH TO APPROACH THE SUBJECTS OF COMMON INTEREST IN A PROFOUND WAY. IT HAS BEEN VERY SATISFYING TO ME TO VERIFY THAT THIS SUGGESTION HAS BEEN TAKEN UP AND IS NOW THE MAIN AXIS OF OUR DIALOGUE. GOD GRANT THAT WE CAN DEEPEN THIS COURSE STILL MUCH MORE.

"THIS BRIEF REVIEW OF FACTS IS MORE ILLUSTRATIVE THAN ANY OTHER DOCTRINARY DEFINITION OF THE POLICY OF MY COUNTRY AND OF THE IMPORTANCE IT ATTACHES IN THIS CONTEXT TO THE NEXT MEETING
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IN BUENOS AIRES.;

"THIS MEETING MUST NOT FAIL. IF IT SHOULD, THE NEW DIALOGUE WOULD LOSE VIGOR AND APPEAL IN CONTINENTAL PUBLIC OPINION. WITH THAT IT WOULD BE FRUSTRATED AS A VALUABLE POLICY OPENING.

"I BELIEVE THAT ON THAT OCCASION THE WAY OF HAVING SUCCESS IS TO PREPARE, IN THE TIME THAT REMAINS, CONCRETE RESULTS ON

SOME OF THE SUBTCTS SELECTED AT BO&OTA AND DISCUSSED AT
TLATELOLCO AND WASHINGTON.

"I ASK MYSELF IF WE MIGHT NOT BE ABLE TO MEET GOALS SUCH AS:

1. REFORM OF THE INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM. APPROVE SOME BASIC
POLICY DIRECTIVES IN ORDER THAT THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE CAN
COMPLETE ITS WORK. WITHOUT THIS, THE ESSENTIAL OBJECTIVE THAT
URUGUAY TOOK INTO ACCOUNT WHEN IT PROPOSED REFORM REMAINS
WITHOUT HAVING BEEN ACHIEVED: TO ARRIVE AT A CONSENSUS ON IMPORTANT
ASPECTS OF THE NEW CHARTER SO AS TO GIVE THE LSTEM A SOLID POLITICAL
FOUNDATION WHICH IT LACKS TODAY, WHICH IS THE SOURCE OF MANY OF
THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES IN HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS. BASIC ELEMENTS
EXIST TO ESTABLISH TYCSE POLITICAL DIRECTIVES: THE WORK COMPLETED
BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AND THE URUGUAYAN PROPOSAL PRESENTED AT
ATLANTA TITLED "STEPS FOR THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE INTER-AMERICAN
SYSTEM."

"AN IMPORTANT ATTAINMENT OF THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING WOULD BE
TO EXPEDITE AT LEAST FOUR OR FIVE PRECISE STEPS FOR THE SPECIAL
COMMITTEE ON ESSENTIAL MATTERS. URUGUAY CAN PRESENT SOME
PROPOSALS IN THIS REGARD WHICH I SHALL BE MUCH PLEASURE IN
MAKING KNOWN TO YOU.

"2. TRADE. TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS BEFORE MARCH TO PUT THE
SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES INTO EFFECT FOR LATIN AMERICA.

"3. PANAMA CANAL. CONCLUDE SOME DECISIVE STEP, OR AT LEAST
SIGNIFICANT, WHICH, I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO LEARN, IS NOT NOW
DIFFICULT.

"4. TRANSFER OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. WE SHOULD APPROVE AT

BUENOS AIRES THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF A SYSTEM TO THIS
EFFECT. URUGUAY WILL HOST THE PRIOR MEETING AND HAS
PRESENTED AND WILL CONTINUE TO PRESENT PROPOSALS ON THE
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STRUCTURE AND PURPOSES OF THE NEW BODY. ACTIVE CONTACTS
EXIST BETWEEN THE DELEGATIONS OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES IN
ORDER TO ELIMINATE OBSTACLES AND OVERCOME THE DIFFICULTIES
MADE APPARENT AT THE SANTIAGO MEETING. URUGUAY IS PREPARED
TO BE THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE BODY WHICH EVENTUALLY WILL
BE CREATED.

"5. TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES. I HOPE THAT SOME PRINCIPLES
MIGHT BE READY TO BE APPROVED. URUGUAY ATTACHES GREAT IM-
PORTANCE TO THIS SUBJECT, EVEN THOUGH IT CONSIDERS IT A PART
OF THE BROADER SUBJECT OF ORGANIZING THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF
THE CONTINENT WITH A SENSE OF HARMONY, COOPERATION, GOOD
EFFICIENCY AND BENEFIT FOR ALL. TO THIS END, MY DELEGATION
PROPOSED AT ATLANTA THE PREPARATION OF THE SO-CALLED "ECONOMIC
STATUTE OF THE AMERICAS." I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THIS IS
THE PATH THAT WE WILL HAVE TO TRAVEL SOONER OR LATER. MEANWHILE,

MY COUNTRY WILL SUPPORT CONSTRUCTIVELY WHEN IT LEADS TO THE SAME END
AS IS THE CASE OF THE NORMS OF CONDUCT FOR TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES.

"6. I BELIEVE WE MUST THINK IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE NEW DIALOGUE
AND THE OAS ARE THE SAME THING. PERHAPS IF THE MEETINGS OF THE
NEW DIALOGUE ARE IDENTIFIED MORE IN SPACE AND TIME WITH THOSE
OF THE OAS IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO ADVANCE SOMETHING. HOWEVER,
THIS STEP WILL NOT BE ABLE TO BE TAKEN WHILE THERE ARE NOT
ENOUGH ATTAINMENTS IN OTHERS, ESPECIALLY IN THE REFORM OF THE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MONTEVIDEO 0023

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SYSTEM. WHILE THE OAS IS AN OBJECT OF SUSPICION AND A
TARGET OF ATTACKS ON THE PART OF SOME OF ITS OWN MEMBERS IT IS
DIFFICULT TO MAKE IT COINCIDE WITH THE NEW DIALOGUE EVEN
THOUGH AS A MATTER OF FACT THEY ARE PRACTICALLY THE SAME.

"IN THIS PICTURE AND IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES THE OBSTACLE
OF THE PARTICIPATION OF CUBA IN THE BUENOS AIRES MEETING IS
EVIDENT. IT IS NOT FORESEEABLE THAT IN THE SUBJECTS SUCH AS
THOSE MENTIONED (CUBA) WILL OR CAN MAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE CON-
TRIBUTION. ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS PROBABLY THAT IT WILL
PROVOKE CONTROVERSIES AND DIVISIONS.

"THE SAME CONCLUSION RESULTS FROM THE EXAMINATION OF OTHER
FACTORS: THE CLOSENESS OF THE QUITO MEETING DOES NOT COUNSEL
(US) TO SUBMIT OUR ASSOCIATION TO A NEW TEST; CUBA HAS NOT GIVEN
SIGNIFICANT SIGNS OF INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN INTER-AMERICAN
TASKS; THE MOST RECENT ENCOUNTER, THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
BATTLE OF AYACUCHO, WAS TOTALLY NEGATIVE, ESPECIALLY BECAUSE
OF THE STATEMENTS OF MINISTER ROA.

"FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE FACTORS THAT DIRECTLY CONCERN
URUGUAY I CANNOT FAIL TO INDICATE WITH REAL REPROBATION INFO-
RMATION WE HAVE CONCERNING NEW ACTIVITIES OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT

WHICH ARE BEING CARRIED OUT AT THIS VERY MOMENT DIRECTED AT INTERVENING IN URUGUAY IN SUPPORT OF SUBVERSION. THE GROUP THAT FORMS THE HABANA REGION OF THE TUPAMARO MOVEMENT IS NOW MADE UP OF ABOUT 800 URUGUAYANS WHO RECEIVE ASSIDUOUS OFFICIAL TRAINING AND SUPPORT OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THIS CONDUCT CANNOT BE FAVORABLY USED TO MAKE ROOM FOR THAT GOVERNMENT IN THE MOST INTIMATE DELIBERATIONS OF OUR HEMISPHERIC SOCIETY.

"THE ELEMENTS SET FORTH IN PREVIOUS PARAGRAPHS AND MY OWN SPEECH
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AT QUITO (DO) I BELIEVE ILLUSTRATE MORE THAN ENOUGH THE URUGUAYAN POSITION WITH REGARD TO CUBA. IT DOES NOT RELATE TO AN IDEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION NOR DOES IT RELATE EITHER TO IGNORING OR MAKING DETENTE DIFFICULT. IT RELATES SIMPLY (TO THE FACT) THAT CUBA NOT INTERVENE MORE IN URUGUAY AND STOPS LENDING SUPPORT TO SUBVERSION. THAT IS TO SAY THAT CUBA FULFILLS THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERVENTION, BUT NOT ONLY BY WORD, BY A DECLARATION (BUICH FURTHERMORE IT HAS NOT MADE), BUT RATHER BY DEED, IN ITS POLITICAL AND MILITARY CONDUCT.

"THE ENTIRE FUTURE OF THE CUBAN ISSUE THAT YOU RAISE IN YOUR LETTER, MR. SECRETARY, DEPENDS ON THE REPLY TO TWO SIMPLE QUESTIONS: WILL THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT REALLY STOP INTERVENING IN AMERICA, IN PARTICULAR IN URUGUAY? WHAT TANGIBLE GUARANTEES WILL BE ABLE TO BE GIVEN -- AND WHO WILL GIVE THEM -- THAT IT WILL BE THAT WAY?

"ON THE CONDITION THAT THE SUBJECT OF CUBA WILL BE LOOKED AT LIKE THIS, MY GOVERNMENT HAS NO OBJECTION THAT THE MATTER BE TREATED AT BUENOS AIRES. BUT, OF COURSE, NOT AS A FORMAL AGENDA ITEM, BUT IN INFORMAL ROUNDS THAT PERMIT AN EXCHANGE OF IDEAS ON HOW TO SOLVE THE QUESTIONS THAT I HAVE PLANTED AND WITH THE UNDERSTANDING, IT IS CLEAR, THAT CUBA NOT PARTICIPATE AT THE MEETING. IT IS EVIDENT THAT IT WOULD BE IDLE AND INCONVENIENT TO REPRODUCE THE QUITO DEBATE OR ONLY DISCUSS FORMULA TO REINCORPORATE CUBA INTO THE HEMISPHERIC FAMILY IF THE HEART OF THE MATTER IS NOT CONSIDERED, AND THAT IS THE GUARANTEES THAT THERE WILL NOT BE INTERVENTION.

"MY ESTEEMED SECRETARY: AS ALWAYS URUGUAY WISHES TO EXPRESS ITS THINKING WITH TOTAL FRANKNESS. THIS IS ALSO COMPATIBLE WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW DIALOGUE THAT REQUIRES AN INTERCHANGE OF COMPLETELY SINCERE IDEAS. BECAUSE OF THAT I WANT TO TELL YOU WITH ALL CLARITY THAT EVEN IN THE UNLIKELY EVENT THAT CUBA AGREES TO CEAASE THE INTERVENTIONS AND TO GIVE APPROPRIATE GUARANTEES THAT THEY WILL NOT BE RESUMED, IT IS NOT REALISTIC TO THINK THAT THAT COUNTRY WILL BE A POSITIVE FACTOR IN HEMISPHERIC RELATIONS. IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THAT GOVERNMENT (SECURE A PROTAGONISTIC AND INFLUENTIAL POSITION IN LATIN AMERICA) AND EVEN THE INTERNAL PROPAGANDA REQUIREMENTS FOR CUBAN DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION DO NOT PERMIT IT SINCERELY TO EXTEND ITS HAND TO ALL (UNDERLINED) THE NATIONS OF THE HEMISPHERE EVEN THOUGH IT MIGHT WANT TO DO SO. ON THE CONTRARY, SUCH OBJECTIVES AND NECESS-

ITIES REQUIRE A PERMANENT DIVISIONIST ACTION IN AMERICA, TAKING
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AS A GUIDE THE MOST RIGID IDEOLOGICAL DISCRIMINATION. THE SO
INSULTING DOCTRINE OF "IDEOLOGICAL BORDERS" IS FAITHFULLY
PRACTICED BY CUBA.

"THESE ARE NOT MERE SPECULATIONS. THEY ARE CORROBORATED BY
THE SIMPLEST OBSERVATION OF THE POLITICAL PANORAMA OF THE AMERICAS.
THE APPROACH (APPROXIMACION) OF CUBA -- IF IT EXISTS -- IS SELECTIVE,
TO SPECIFIED COUNTRIES, BY BILATERAL MEANS. IN OTHER
COUNTRIES IT ALLOWS TO FILTER, INSTEAD, A PERSPECTIVE OF
PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING. WITH THIS DUAL CONDUCT IT PROVOKES
NATURAL DIVISIONS AMONG OUR COUNTRIES INsofar AS CONCERNS
THE APPRECIATION OF CUBAN FOREIGN POLICY AND STIMULATES
POLITICAL REACTIONS WITHIN EACH COUNTRY. SAID WITH CRUDENESS,
THE PRICE OF PEACE THAT HABANA REQUIRES IN LATIN AMERICA IS
IDEOLOGICAL CAPITULATION, TO WHICH URUGUAY WILL NEVER GIVE IN.
IN THIS WAY, CUBA SYNCHRONIZES ITS INTERNATIONAL ACTION WITH
THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF EACH COUNTRY, IMPROVING
ITS LOT WITH THE "INTERNAL FRONT" OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, SUB-
VERSIVE ELEMENTS AND OTHER "PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS." THIS IS LOGICAL
WITHIN THE CUBAN PERSPECTIVE, SINCE ITS PURPOSE IS TO
ESTABLISH IN THE CONTINENT GOVERNMENTS SIMILAR TO TO ITS OWN
IDEOLOGY.

"THERE IS THUS PRESENTED THE CURIOUS IRONY THAT WHEN MANY
INVOKE IDEOLOGICAL PLURALISM TO DEMAND THE REENTRY OF CUBA
TO OUR COMMUNITY, THERE RESULTS, IN SUBSTANCE, THAT CUBA'S
ACTION IS INSPIRED PRECISELY IN THE DISCRIMINATION OF IDEOLOGIES,
BLOCKING AND DIVIDING THE TASK OF CONSTRUCTING A NEW INTER-
AMERICAN RELATION, WITH THE SINGLE PURPOSE OF PREDOMINANCE.
"BECAUSE OF THAT, THE INCORPORATION OF CUBA INTO HEMISPHERIC
TASKS, EVEN IF IT WOULD RESOLVE IN PRINCIPLE A BOTHERSOME ISSUE
IN INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS, WOULD HAVE AS A RESULT THE TRANSFER
OF THAT SAME ISSUE TO THE BOSSOM OF THOSE RELATIONS, TO THE
VERY HEART OF THE WORK THAT WE INITIATED UNDER THE SIGN OF THE
NEW DIALOGUE. AND IF EVEN TODAY WE MEET DIFFICULTIES IN
ADVANCING AND CONSOLIDATING THE NEW POLICY, IT DOES NOT
TAKE MUCH TO IMAGINE THE ADDITIONAL DIFFICULTIES THAT SUCH
A PARTICIPANT WOULD BRING WITH IT, IDEOLOGICALLY ORIENTED
AND WITH A CLEAR POLITICAL PURPOSE.

"PERHAPS THESE FACTORS DO NOT SEEM SO RELEVANT FROM THE POINT
OF VIEW OF THE GREAT POWERS, POSSESSORS OF MORE POWERFUL
MEANS FOR THEIR DEFENSE, BUT FOR THE SMALL AND MEDIUM COUNTRIES,
LIKE MINE, THEY HAVE A SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE. TO A CERTAIN
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DEGREE THEY (THESE FACTORS) IDENTIFY WITH OUR SOVEREIGN RIGHT
TO ASSUME THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FORM THAT WE
PROPOSE FOR OURSELVES WHICH DOES NOT PERMIT ANYONE TO ADVISE US,
INTERFERE, PRESSURE OR INTERVENE. AND THAT IS THE ESSENTIAL
BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION. URUGUAY WILL ALWAYS BE
ALIGNED WITH THE DEFENSE OF THAT RIGHT THAT WE CONSIDER SACRED
AND WITHOUT WHICH THERE WOULD NOT BE HARMONIOUS COEXISTENCE IN
THE AMERICAS. I TRUST THAT AN ANALOGOUS SPIRIT WILL PREVAIL
IN ALL OF OUR PARTNERS OF THE HEMISPHERE, EXTENDING US
RECIPROCALLY AND PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE SOLIDARITY.

"FINALLY, I WISH TO EXPRESS MY SATISFACTION FOR YOUR INITIATIVE
IN UNDERTAKING DIRECT CONSULTATIONS, CONFORMING WITH THE SPIRIT
OF THE NEW DIALOGUE. I HOPE TO SEE YOU IN THE NEXT MEETING IN
BUENOS AIRES AND AT ANY TIME THAT YOU MIGHT COME TO LATIN AMERICA
YOU WILL BE WELCOME IN URUGUAY. MEANWHILE, I WOULD BE VERY
HAPPY TO RECEIVE YOUR COMMENTS ON THESE VITAL MATTERS.

"ON THIS OCCASION, TOGETHER WITH MY FRIENDLY GREETINGS,
PLEASE ACCEPT MY BEST WISHES FOR YOURSELF AND MRS.
KISSINGER IN 1975"

SIGNED: JUAN CARLOS BLANCO. END TEXT.
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